

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 IO-10 ISO-00 EURE-00 CU-02 SSO-00 INRE-00

NSCE-00 ERDE-00 USIE-00 ERDA-05 CIAE-00 H-02 INR-07

L-03 NSAE-00 OIC-02 OMB-01 PA-01 PM-03 PRS-01 SAJ-01

SAM-01 SP-02 SS-15 TRSE-00 DODE-00 NSC-05 ACDA-05

BIB-01 /080 W

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O P 021540Z JUL 75

FM AMEMBASSY BONN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1150

INFO USMISSION GENEVA IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY LONDON PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY PARIS PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

USMISSION USBERLIN

USMISSION NATO BRUSSELS

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 BONN 10753

FOR EUR/RPM

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: CSCE, PFOR, XG

SUBJECT: CSCE: APPLICABILITY TO BERLIN

REFS: (A) BONN 10389

(B) GENEVA 4915

(C) USBERLIN 1198

(D) BONN 9940

BEGIN SUMMARY: FRENCH REP INFORMED BONN GROUP JULY 1
THAT FRANCE WOULD "VETO" ANDORRA CLAUSE ON APPLICA-
BILITY OF CSCE CLAUSE TO "WHOLE OF EUROPE." HE ALSO
STATED THAT BECAUSE GERMANS HAD INFORMED SOVIETS OF
PROBABILITY OF REFERENCES TO BERLIN BY ALLIED SPOKES-
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MEN AT CSCE STAGE 3, IT WOULD NOW BE NECESSARY TO SHOW

THESE TO SOVIETS BEFORE CONCLUSION OF STAGE II. BONN
GROUP DISCUSSION OF POSSIBLE TEXT OF HELSINKI STATEMENT
WAS INCONCLUSIVE. FURTHER DEPARTMENT GUIDANCE REQUESTED.
END SUMMARY.

1. AT BONN GROUP JULY 1 DISCUSSION OF ALLIED STATE-
MENTS ON BERLIN AT CSCE SUMMIT, UK REP INDICATED UK
PREFERENCE FOR SHORT STATEMENT SUCH AS THAT HE HAD
PREVIOUSLY CIRCULATED (SEE PARA 4 REFTEL (A), BUT
SAID UK FAIRLY FLEXIBLE. CONCERNING FRG PROPOSAL
FOR "ANDORRA CLAUSE" ADVANCED TO SOVIETS BY MEYER-
LANDRUT (REFTEL B AND PARA 7 OF REFTEL A) UK REP SAID IT
WAS ACCEPTABLE BUT THAT THERE WERE TWO INDIRECT PROBLEMS:

(A) UK WOULD BE UNABLE ACTIVELY TO ADVOCATE IT
FOR REASONS OF APPEARANCE RELATED TO GIBRALTAR; AND

(B) GENEVA UK MISSION HAD REPORTED THAT WHILE
SOVIETS WERE NOT OBJECTING TO SUCH "CHAPEAU" STATEMENT,
SOVIETS WOULD EXPECT WESTERN STATES TO PAY FOR IT BY
REFERENCE TO IRREVERSIBILITY OF DETENTE, WHICH WOULD
CAUSE MANY WESTERN STATES DIFFICULTIES. REFERRING TO
LANGUAGE WHICH HE DESCRIBED AS UNDER CONSIDERATION FOR
THE OVERALL PREAMBLE CONCERNING THE INDIVISIBILITY
OF SECURITY, QUOTED GENEVA 4980, HE WONDERED WHETHER
FRG-PROPOSED "CHAPEAU" STATEMENT WAS REALLY NECESSARY.

2. US REP INDICATED THAT USG REMAINED FLEXIBLE ON
LANGUAGE OF US PROPOSAL DESCRIBED PARA 1 REFTEL (A), IN
PARTICULAR WITH REFERENCE TO LANGUAGE: "...THE WSB
MUST BENEFIT..." AND ENUMERATION OF TYPES OF IMPROVE-
MENTS.

3. FRENCH REP STATED FLATLY THAT HIS GOVERNMENT WOULD
OPPOSE PROPOSAL MADE BY GERMANS TO USSR FOR VARIOUS
REASONS (UNSTATED); HE EVEN USED TERM "VETO" TO DES-
CRIBE ACTION HIS GOVERNMENT PREPARED TO TAKE WITH
REGARD TO "ANDORRA CLAUSE." HE INDICATED, HOWEVER,
THAT HIS GOVERNMENT REMAINED PREPARED TO WORK ON A
DRAFT STATEMENT TO BE MADE BY HEADS OF STATES/GOVERN-
MENT AT HELSINKI.

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4. FRG REP INDICATED THAT HE HAD BEEN AWARE OF FRENCH
PROBLEMS AND THAT IT WAS DIFFICULT FOR HIM TO ARGUE
MERITS OF PROPOSAL MADE BY FRG REPS AT GENEVA. HE
INDICATED THAT FOR LEGAL REASONS FRG WELCOMED UK DRAFT
(REFTEL A), AND FOR POLITICAL REASONS WELCOMED THE US
DRAFT. HE SAID THAT MUCH DEPENDED ON DOCUMENTS CON-
CLUDED AT GENEVA, SUGGESTING THAT THE US, UK, AND
FRENCH DRAFTS COULD BE DISCUSSED NOW OR AFTER OUTCOME

OF GENEVA CONFERENCE KNOWN. TO THIS, FRENCH REP REPLIED
THAT URGENCY HAD BEEN CREATED BY MEYER-LANDRUT STATE-
MENT TO SOVIET REP AT GENEVA THAT ALLIES WOULD BE
MAKING STATEMENTS AT HELSINKI, WHICH RESULTED IN NEED
FOR SOVIETS TO SEE IN ADVANCE WHAT STATEMENTS ALLIES
WOULD MAKE AT HELSINKI. UK REP SAID THAT LATEST
INDICATION WAS THAT STAGE TWO WAS WINDING-DOWN,
THAT SOVIETS WOULD NEED TO BE SHOWN A DRAFT OF STATE-
MENTS TO BE MADE BY ALLIED REP AT STAGE 3, AND THAT
STATEMENTS AND INSERTIONS INTO TEXTS OF DECLARATIONS

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MUST BE SEEN TOGETHER THOUGHT THEY NOT FORMALLY LINKED.
UK REP AGAIN REFERRED TO OVERALL PREAMBLE PROVISION

QUOTED GENEVA 4980, AND WONDERED WHETHER THIS PLUS ALLIED STATEMENTS AT HELSINKI, WITHOUT "CHAPEAU" LANGUAGE ON "WHOLE OF EUROPE," MIGHT NOT SATISFY FRG. HE SAID THAT THE SOVIETS APPARENTLY HAD NOT DEMURRED TO THIS POSSIBILITY. FRENCH REP STRESSED THAT UK AND FRENCH PROPOSALS FOR STATEMENTS WERE VERY SIMILAR.

5. TURNING BACK TO US DRAFT, UK REP STATED THAT HE ASSUMED THAT THIS RELATIVELY LONG STATEMENT WOULD BE MADE BY ONLY ONE OF THE ALLIES, THE OTHERS MERELY REFERRING TO IT APPROVINGLY. HE THOUGHT SECOND CONFIDENTIAL

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SENTENCE WENT TOO FAR AND EXPRESSED PREFERENCE FOR STATEMENT TO EFFECT THAT ONE OF THE TESTS OF GENEVA CONFERENCE SUCCESS WILL BE DEGREE TO WHICH BERLINERS EXPERIENCE PRACTICAL BENEFITS. THE FRG REP AGREED THAT IF LONGER US STATEMENT WERE MADE BY ONE, THE OTHERS WOULD NEED MERELY TO ENDORSE IT, SAYING FURTHER THAT THE LISTING OF CATEGORIES OF IMPROVEMENTS IN THE US DRAFT DID NOT APPEAR COMPLETE. THE FRENCH REP SAID THAT PARA L OF THE US TEXT ON THE ONE HAND SAYS THAT THE RESULTS OF THE CONFERENCE ARE TO APPLY TO BERLIN WHILE ON THE OTHER HAND SAYING THE CSCE DOCUMENTS CANNOT AFFECT BERLIN. HE PREFERRED NOT MIXING LAW AND POLICY IN ONE STATEMENT, AND THEREFORE SUGGESTED DELETION OF PART CONCERNING FUTURE OF BERLIN. HE SAID WHILE BASIC IDEAS WERE GOOD, HE DID NOT BELIEVE THAT THE DRAFT WAS GOOD. FRG REP AGREED, EMPHASIZING NEED TO BEAR IN MIND POSSIBLE USSR REACTION. CONCERNING SECOND PART OF US DRAFT, FRG REP STATED BELIEF THAT ITS BASIC IDEA WILL BE REFLECTED IN EVERY SPEECH MADE AT HELSINKI, INCLUDING THAT BY THE FEDERAL CHANCELLOR AND IN EVERY PRESS INTERVIEW GIVEN BY WESTERN REPS.

6. ACTION REQUESTED: DEPARTMENT GUIDANCE AS REQUESTED REFTTEL (A), IN LIGHT OF DEVELOPMENTS DISCUSSED AT JULY 1 BONN GROUP MEETING. EMBASSY WILL SEEK TO FIND OUT FROM FRENCH EMBASSY WHAT ARE THE REASONS FOR FRENCH DISAPPROVAL, BESIDES PIQUE AT FRG INITIATION WITHOUT ALLIED CONSULTATION. WE WOULD BE GRATEFUL FOR ANY LIGHT MISSION GENEVA COULD SHED ON THIS FRENCH ATTITUDE. HILLENBRAND

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